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# Message Text

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NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAM-01 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 DRC-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 0803

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
SUBJ: FEBRUARY 13 NAC: ALLIANCE CONSULTATION

REF: A. STATE 23461 B. STATE 17608 C. STATE 13545 D. STATE 5066

SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH DATE AND PARTICIPATION IN NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING NOT YET AGREED IN DETAIL, EMERGING CONSENSUS CLEARLY FAVORS EXTENDING "OPEN-INVITATION" FOR FEB 28. A VARIETY OF AGENDA ITEMS HAVE
BEEN PROPOSED. WTHOUT ADDRESSING FRENCH PARTICIPATION, DE ROSE WENT EXTENSIVELY INTO RESTRICTIVE FRENCH VIEW OF CONSULTATIONS. PERM-REPS OF ITALY, BELGIUM, UK, TURKEY, NORWAY, NETHERLANDS, DENMARK AND FRG MADE STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF GIVING NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS CONSULTATIONS A TRY. MANY TOOK ISSUE WITH RESTRICITIVE FRENCH VIEWS ON CONSULTATION. PERMREPS ALSO WELCOMED FRG SUGGESTIONS FOR REVISED MINISTERIAL FORMAT. NAC WILL AGAIN DISCUSS CONSULTATION ON FEB 20. END SUMMARY.

1. SYG LUNS OPENED FEB 13 NAC DISCUSSION ON CONSULTATION
WITH BRIEF STATEMENT THAT HE WAS CURRENTLY INCLINED TO ISSUE AN "OPEN-ENDED" INVITATION TO THOSE PERMREPS AND OTHER NATIONAL REPRE-
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SENTATIVES WHO MIGHT WANT TO ATTEND THE NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING PROJECTED FOR FEB 28.

2. DRAWING ON REFTELS, U.S. REP (MCAULIFFE) NOTED THAT U.S. SAW

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COUNCIL/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETINGS AS REINFORCING NAC DELIBERA-
TIONS, NOT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THEM OR FOR OTHER NATO CONSULTA-
TIVE BODIES. SUCH REINFORCED SESSIONS WOULD IN MANY WAYS RESEMBLE
PREVIOUS SESSIONS HELD, FOR EXAMPLE AT DEPUTY FONMIN LEVEL, WHICH
HAD MADE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE. U.S. REP NOTED
EXPERIEMENTAL NATURE OF FIRST NAC MEETING WITH POLITICAL DIRECTORS
AND SAID THAT U.S. WAS NOT WEDDED TO ANY SPECIFIC PROCEDURAL FORMAT
ALTHOUGH IT FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT SOME SPECIFIC TOPIC OR TOPICS
SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED IN ADVANCE FOR DISCUSSION. HE THEN CITED
ILLUSTRATIVE LIST PROVIDED PARA 4, STATE 13545.

3. U.S REP SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT ENDORSES FRG SUGGESTIONS ON
MINISTERIAL FORMAT REVISIONS AND ADDED THAT FUTURE MINISTERIAL
DISCUSSION SHOULD FOCUS ON COUNCIL FOLLOW-UP AND IMPLEMENTATION
ACTIVITIES DURING PERIOD BETWEEN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS.

4. MCAULIFFE SAID U.S. HAD WELCOMED LUNS PAPER (USNATO 279) ON
CONSULTATIONS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA AS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH
OUR OWN APPROACH TO THIS IMPORTANT SUBJECT. THE U.S. WAS PARTICULARLY
PLEASED TO NOTE THAT SYG'S PAPER RELATED WORK IN THIS AREA TO WORK
IN OTHER NATO CONSULTATIVE BODIES IN ORDER TO COORDINATE AND HARMONIZE

THESE EFFORTS WITH THOSE OF THE NAC. U.S. REP ALSO NOTED RECENT
POLADS EFFORTS TO TAILOR REGIONAL EXPERTS WORK MORE CLOSELY TO
ALLIANCE NEEDS. US HOPED THAT REGIONAL EXPERTS DISCUSSION
COULD BE TIED MORE DIRECTLY INTO NAC AND MINISTERIAL DELIBERATIONS.
SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA IDENTIFIED BY
THE REGIONAL EXPERTS MIGHT THUS BE DISCUSSED IN THE COUNCIL AND
IN OTHER NATO BODIES.

5. FRENCH PERMREP (DE ROSE) SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO CONCENTRATE
ON A MEETING THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS FOR WHICH HAD NOT YET BEEN
ESTABLISHED. IN HIS OWN AND IN HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW, THE STATE-
MENTS BY THE U.S. AND BELGIAN PERMREPS FOLLOWING RUMSFELD'S JAN
30 NAC MIDDLE EAST PRESENTATION TOUCHED ON THE UNDERLYING FUND-
MENTALS OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATION PHILOSOPHY. THE FRENCH HAD FOUND
THIS DISCUSSION BOTH ILLUMINATING AND USEFUL AND HOPED IT COULD BE
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PURSUED THROUGH SEVERAL NAC SESSIONS. FRENCH MADE DISTINCTION
BETWEEN CONSULTATIONS IN ADVANCE OF NATIONAL DECISION AND THEREFORE
HAVING AN IMPACT ON THEM, AND EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AFTER NATIONAL
DECISISIONS OR NATIONAL ACTIONS HAD  BEEN TAKEN. DE ROSE SAID THE
FORMER WERE CENTRAL TO THE COMM*TMENTS WHICH ALLIES MADE TO EACH OTHER

IN THE SECURITY AREA. IN THEIR REPORT, NATO'S THREE WISE MEN HAD SOUGHT

TO EXTEND CONSULTATION BEYOND STRICTLY-DEFINED ALLIANCE SECURITY
INTERESTS BUT THESE RECOMMENDATIONS HAD NEVER BEEN IMPLEMENTED AND
THE SUBSEQUENT RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE HARMEL REPORT IN THIS AREA WERE
CORRESPONDINGLY MORE MODEST.

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6. DE ROSE NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT HAD COME TO THE SURFACE AGAIN, AND HAD BEEN MENTIONED IN THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE, AFTER SECRETARY KISSINGER'S APRIL 1973 SPEECH AND LAST AUTUMN'S MIDDLE

EAST DEVELOPMENTS. DE ROSE NOTED AGAIN THAT ARTICLE 4, 5 AND 6 OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY ONLY REQUIRE CONSULTATIONS ON SECURITY MATTERS INVOLVING AND NORTH AMERICA. THEREFORE, EVERYONE AGREED THAT CONSULTATIONS MUST BE HELD IN THESE AREAS AND THEIR ACTIONS BASED ON PRIOR AGREEMENT. FRANCE RECOGNIZED TOO THAT IN PRACTICE ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS HAD GONE BEYOND THIS NARROWLY DEFINED AREA INTO SUCH USEFUL FIELDS AS ADVANCE CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE AND THE BERLIN QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. MOREOVER, FRANCE WANTED IT TO BE "CRYSTAL CLEAR" THAT IT DID NOT BLAME THE UNITED STATES FOR ANY SHORTCOMINGS IN MIDDLE EAST CONSULTATION BECAUSE THE MIDDLE EAST WAS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE ALERT OF U.S. FORCES STATIONED IN EUROPE MIGHT HAVE WARRANTED ADVANCE CONSULTATION. U.S. ACTION HAD FOLLOWED THE RESPECTED AND WELL ESTABLISHED PRACTICE OF ONLY EXCHANGING INFORMATION ON ACTIONS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA.

7. DE ROSE NOTED THAT, IN PRINCIPLE, THE U.S. DID NOT HAVE TO SEEK PRIOR ALLIANCE APPROVAL ON ITS SALT POSITION BUT WASHINGTON CONSIDERS IT USEFUL TO KEEP THE ALLIANCE ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS. SALT, LIKE CSCE AND BERLIN, WAS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF USEFUL CONSULTATIONS NOT STRICTLY CALLED FOR UNDER THE TREATY. DE ROSE RECOGNIZED THAT OTHER CONSULTATIONS ON AREAS OUTSIDE NATO HAD BEEN USEFUL AND HAD LED TO VALUABLE DISCUSSION. THEY CREATED, HOWEVER, NO REQUIREMENT TO CONSULT IN ADVANCE OF NATIONAL ACTIONS EXCEPT WHERE MEMBER
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COUNTRIES CHOSE TO DO SO.

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NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAM-01 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 DRC-01

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8. WITH RESPECT TO GERMAN PROPOSALS TO REVAMP THE MINISTERIAL FORMAT, FRANCE WAS NOT SURE THAT DISCUSSIONS IMPROVISED ON THE SPOT BY MINISTERS WOULD LEAD TO UNDERSTANDING. ON AN UNINSTRUCTED BASIS, DE ROSE THOUGHT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE ADDITIONAL THOUGHT TO IMPROVING MINISTERIAL SESSIONS. IN CLOSING, DE ROSE ADMITTED THAT FRENCH VIEWS ON ALLIANCE CONSULTATION WERE NOT REVOLUTIONARY AND MIGHT TO SOME EVEN SEEM CONSERVATIVE.

9. CATALANO (ITALY) SAID HE HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED ITALY'S FAVOR-ABLE VIEW ABOUT A MEETING OF THE NAC WITH POLITICAL DIRECTORS. ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY AGREED WITH THE GERMAN MINISTERIAL FORMAT PROPOSALS, HIS GOVERNMENT WAS UNCERTAIN ABOUT THEM. WHILE ROME DID NOT RULE OUT CHANGE, IT BELIEVED SUCH CHANGES MUST PERMIT EVERYONE
TO PARTICIPATE IN HIS OWN LANGUAGE.

10. BELGIAN PERMREP (DE STAERCKE) SAID HE WOULD CIRCULATE HIS RESPONSE TO RUMSFELD'S LETTER SETTING FORTH THE U.S. POSITION ON CONSULTATIONS. HE BELIEVED THE U.S. HAD BEEN RIGHT IN STRESS-ING THAT SUCH MEETINGS SHOULD BE HELD WITHIN THE COUNCIL FRAMEWORK SINCE THIS WOULD NOT CALL INTO QUESTION THE ROLE AND RULES OF THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION. BELGIUM WOULD HOST A LUNCH FOR CONFIDENTIAL



PERMREPS AND "WHOEVER ELSE" MIGHT BE PRESENT. THE AGENDA SHOULD BE OPEN FOR SUGGESTIONS FROM EACH MEMBER AND BELGIUM THOUGHT PER-HAPS ONLY ONE SUBJECT (I.E. CSCE) OR EXPRESSIONS OF GENERAL VIEWS ON TOPICS SUGGESTED BY THE U.S. MIGHT BE PRESENTED.

11. DE STAERCKE SAID HE FOUND DE ROSE'S STATEMENT ON CONSUL-TATION "FASCINATING," AND HE RECOGNIZED THAT ORTHODOXY AND A CONSERVATIVE APPROACH HAD AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN ALLIANCE AFFAIRS. HE DISAGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE THREE WISE MEN ON ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS HAD FAILED BECAUSE OF ANY INTRINSIC WEAKNESS. THEY HAD RATHER BEEN SORELY TESTED BY THE 1956 SUEZ AND CZECH CRISES WHICH THREATENED TO SPLIT THE ALLIANCE BECAUSE OF DIVERGENT VIEWS. THE FACT THAT ALLIED VIEWS ARE
HONESTLY DIVERGENT, HOWEVER,MAKES IT ALMOST MORE IMPORTANT THAT THEY BE
DISCUSSED EVEN IF IT IS RECOGNIZED IN ADVANCE THAT DIFFERENCES WILL PERSIST.

12. DE STAERCKE SAID THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS MADE IT ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT THE ALLIANCE LOOK AGAIN AT JUST HOW FAR IT SHOULD GO IN THE CONSULTATION AREA. AS FOR BELGIUM'S POSITION, DE TAERCKE DOUBTED THAT THE ALLIANCE COULD LONG SURVIVE UNLESS IT CONSTANTLY LOOKED AT WAYS TO IMPROVE CONSULTATIONS. AS AN HISTORICAL FOOTNOTE DE STAERCKE DESIGNED TO SHOW HOW FAR THE ALLIANCE HAD COME, RECALLED THAT

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SECRETARY DULLES HAD HIMSELF ORIGINALLY OPPOSED EXPANDED CONSULTATIONS DURING THE PREPARATION OF THE THREE WISE MEN'S REPORT ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE U.S. GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES FORCED IT FREQUENTLY TO ACT FIRST AND CONSULT LATER. FURTHERMORE DULLES HAD ARGUED GOVERNMENTS' CONSTITUTIONAL PECULIARITIES COULD PRECLUDE ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS IN ADVANCE OF NATIONAL DECISIONS.

13. IN AGREEING WITH THE FRG'S MINISTERIAL MEETING PROPOSALS, DE STAERCKE SHARED FRENCH CONCERNS ABOUT MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS IMPROVISED ON THE SPOT, BUT SAID HE HAD NEVER SEEN ANY STATESMAN, EVEN CHURCHILL, TRULY IMPROVISE WITHOUT ADVANCE PREPARATION. IMPROVISATION ONLY MEANT THAT MINISTER MUST PREPARE CAREFULLY IN ADVANCE TO PARTICIPATE UNDER NEW FORMAT RULES.

14. PECK (UK) SAID HMG AGREED WITH PROPOSALS TO CHANGE MINISTERIAL MEETINGS IF THEY WERE NOT IN ANY LENGTHENED. THE UK COULD GO CONFIDENTIAL

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ALONG WITH WHATEVER OTHERS COULD AGREE TO FOR A COUNCIL/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING. ALTHOUGH FEB 28 WAS HARDLY AN "AUSPICIOUS" DATE FOR UK PARTICIPANTS, THEY WOULD BE PRESENT.

15. PECK SAID DE ROSE HAD BEEN "NOT AT ALL SUCCESSFUL" IN MAKING CLEAR DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN TWO KINDS OF NATO CONSULTATION. THE ALLIANCE COULD "NOT BE UNCONCERNED" ABOUT EVENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. PECK ASKED THAT THE ALLIANCE BE GUIDED BY EXPERIENCE AND NEED RATHER THAN BY DOGMA IN DECIDING WHAT THE ALLIES DO OR DO NOT CONSULT ABOUT. PECK THEN SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES IDENTIFY IN ADVANCE IMPORTANT SUBJECTS THAT MIGHT COME UP URGENTLY. THESE WOULD THEN BE KEPT UNDER CLOSE REVIEW BY NATIONAL AUTHORITIES SO THAT MEANINGFUL ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS COULD BE HELD ON AN URGENT BASIS WHENEVER NECESSARY.

16. TURKISH PERMREP (ERALP) THOUGHT NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS CONSULTATIONS HAD GREAT DEAL OF MERIT. GOT ALSO AGREED "IN PRINCIPLE" WITH REVISING MINISTERIAL FORMAT AS LONG AS PRESENT DURATION AND SECRECY OF MINISTERIAL SESSIONS ARE MAINTAINED.

17. MENZIES (CANADA) AGREED FULLY WITH COUNCIL/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETINGS AND SUGGESTED THAT MECHANISM BE FOUND FOR SETTING AGENDA TOPICS IN ADVANCE. COMMENTING ON DE ROSE'S REMARKS, MENZIES RECOGNIZED THAT THERE ARE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN ISSUES DISCUSSED IN THE ALLIANCE. CANADA WOULD PREFER, HOWEVER, THAT THE ALLIANCE NOT SET CLEAR-CUT, ADVANCE CRITERIA FOR WHAT IT CONSULTS ABOUT. ALTHOUGH UNINSTRUCTUED, MENZIES BELIEVED CANADA WOULD SUPPORT THE SUGGESTED MINISTERIAL MEETING REVISIONS.

18. BUSCH (NORWAY) SAID HIS GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED BOTH THE FRG'S MINISTERIAL MEETING PROPOSALS AND THE NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING "EITHER AS A FORMAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, AS A LUNCHEON, OR BOTH."

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19. NETHERLANDS PERMREP (HARTOGH) THANKED THE FRG OFOR ITS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE MINISTERIAL PROCEEDINGS. HE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO PRECEDE IMPROVISED DISCUSSION WITH BRIEF PREPARED SPEECHES ON AGENDA TOPICS. THE DUTCH AGREED WITH OLDING COUNCIL/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETINGS ALTHOUGH HARTOGH HAD PERSONAL PROBLEM WITH DATE OF FEB 28. WHILE FINDING DE ROSE'S REMARKS INTERESTING, HARTOGH QUESTIONED FRENCH INTERPRETATION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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WISE MEN'S AND HARMEL REPORTS THAT THERE WERE SHARP DISTINCTIONS ON SUBJECTS FOR NATO CONSULTATION.

20. SVART (DENMARK), ALTHOUGH UNINSTRUCTED, THOUGHT NEW DANISH FONMIN WOULD APPROVE OF CHANGE IN MINISTERIAL FORMAT.

21. FRG PERMREP (KRAPF) SAID HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD PARTICIPATE IN FEB 28 NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS DISCUSSION. AFTER THE ABOVE DISCUSSION ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTALS OF ALLIANCE CONSULTATION, KRAPF SUGGESTED THAT NAC/POLITICAL DIRECTORS MIGHT FIND THEIR SESSIONS REWARDING EVEN IF THEY ADDRESSED ONLY THIS ONE VERY IMPORTANT TOPIC.

22. IN SUMMING UP, LUNS NOTED USEFUL PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE AND DISCUSSION WOULD CONTINUE IN NAC FEBRUARY 20. MCAULIFFE

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